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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent.

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it.

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The

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find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding, is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously, need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but complementary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior. The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disciplined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the villages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλ'

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross